



Pakistan's Foreign Policy: Initial Perspectives and Stages

Vol. I, No. I (2016) | Page: 61 – 74

p- ISSN: 2616-955X

e-ISSN: 2663-7030

L-ISSN: 2616-955X

DOI: 10.31703/grr.2016(I-I).05

Muhammad Muzaffar* Zahid Yaseen† Uroosa Ishfaq‡

Abstract

Pakistan is a state like other states of the world. When it came out from the British net the initial stages were very tough for it. It was considered that it will rejoin India. But the administration of that time took sincere initiatives to manage the affairs gradually. Cold war started at that time between the Communist and Capitalist blocks. Newly established states joined one of them. Pakistan was also one of them. Its foreign policy principles, rules and regulations are highlighted in this paper. All these steps are discussed below gradually with the help of primary and secondary sources. It is concluded that Pakistan had no choice to join the capitalist block because of its financial position that forced it to take such decisions as compared to India. But security and sovereignty were never compromised in every era and at every stage.

Key Words: Alliances, Conflicts, War, Strategy

Introduction

Foreign policy is one of the wheel with which the system of international politics works. It is part of national policy. It comprises of national concerns that are to be facilitated in relations to other states other states. All the states decide the line of their foreign policies inside the breaking points of their qualities and the actualities of the international environment (Modelski, 1962)

Foreign Policy guides a state in satisfying its national concerns and securing lawful place along with comity of homeland states. So, it would be remarked that foreign policy would live as long as independent states work in international circle (Modelski, 1962)

Scholarly definitions likewise assume an important role in this study. The word, 'foreign policy' has been characterized in number of ways. One runs over assortment of definitions of foreign policy offered by various researchers.

* Ph. D Scholar, Department of Politics and IR, International Islamic University Islamabad, Pakistan. Email: muzaffarrps@gcwus.edu.pk

† Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Govt. Post Graduate College, Gujranwala, Punjab, Pakistan.

‡ Junior Research Fellow, Humanity Research Council, Islamabad, Pakistan.

Researchers differ on definitions of foreign policy; on the other hand, they are sure that it is concerned with manners of a state towards other states.

Some are being included as under. According to George Modelski 1962 Foreign policy is the system of activities evolved by communities for changing the behavior of other states and for adjusting their own activities to the international environment (Modelski, 1962).

Hugh Gibson writes “Foreign policy as a well rounded, comprehensive plan, based on knowledge and experience, for conducting the business of government with the rest of the world. It is aimed at promoting and protecting the interests of the nation. This call for a clear understanding of what, whose interests are and how far we can help to go with the means at our disposal. Anything less than this falls short of being a national foreign policy (Gibson, 1944) In the words of Frankel Joseph “Foreign Policy consists of decisions and actions, which involves to some appreciable extent relations between one state and others” (Frankel, 1963).

Foreign policy is the key element in the process by which a state translates its broadly conceived goals and interests into concrete course of action to attain these objectives and preserve interest (Padelford & Lincoln, 1962). This is the policy that manages how a country will act concerning other countries politically, socially, financially and militarily (Amer, 2009).

In perspective of such assortment of Definitions, we can concluded that hub of foreign policy comprises of accomplishing the nationwide purposes through the accessible National means by interfacing with other states (Gross, 1954).

National Interests and Foreign Policy

Interest is the enormous idea in foreign policy. These are the aspirations of the state, which are to be accomplished through foreign policy. The policy makers are represented by their individual national interests. National interests are the governing factors which emerge large in diplomatic conferences, bilateral or multilateral. The achievement and disappointment of all these conferences rely on the national interests included. Theory of national interests has a pivotal position in developing relations among states. Every state considers her national interests as premiers (Azam, 1986).

Lord Palmerston was too right to say that friendship or enmity is never permanent in foreign policy, it is the national interest that is permanent and it was the prime duty of the states to follow them (Banta, 1951). Each country’s foreign policy is country’s national interest and furthermore relations between the countries build for her owned national interest. At her independence Pakistan’s security concerns and financial improvements were core issues of national interests while the US had to her national interest the protection against communism. Such model of national interests of both Pakistan and the US brought about the partnerships between the two countries.

Pakistan's Foreign Policy and Indian Factor

The blue – print of Pakistan's foreign policy was outlined by the father of the nation, Quaid-e- Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, in Feb, 1948, when he said: "Our foreign policy is one of friendliness and goodwill to-towards all the nations of the world. We do not cherish aggressive designs against any country or nation. We believe in the principal of honesty and fair play in national and international dealings and are prepared to make our utmost contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world. Pakistan will never be found lacking in extending its material and moral support to the oppressed and suppressed peoples of the world and in upholding the principles of the United Nations charter" (Afzal, 1966).

India's stubborn antagonism to the creation of Pakistan, Pakistan developed a fear composite of India. This feeling of anxiety compelled the policy makers in Pakistan to find the support of a big power to counterpoise the Indian threat (Afzal, 1966). Actually India hated the emergence of Pakistan and had a wish to undo it at its earliest stage. Birth of Pakistan was noticed as the main obstacle in the achievement of the Hindu dream of starting Ram Raj in the Akhand Bharart. Hindus started propagating that Pakistan will not sustain for long time and will crumple earlier or later and at last will become to be a part of mother India (Azad, 1959).

It was not just desires of the Indian leadership but they did their best to destroy the sovereignty of Pakistan. For the achievement of this goal in 1948, India occupied Kashmir; in

1965 she enforced a war on Pakistan on the concern of Run of Kutch and after that dishonoured international boulder foremost to a whole war; and in 1971, sent its armed forces to help secessionists in East Pakistan leading to its partition from Pakistan.

Objectives and Determinants of Pakistan's Foreign Policy

The concept of objective, which is essentially an 'image' of a future state of affairs and future set of conditions that governments through individual policy makers aspire to bring about by welding influence abroad and by changing or sustaining the behavior of other states (Snyder, et.al, 1962). All the objectives of foreign policy are to be explained by one single word, that word is undoubtedly the 'National Interest', but this word is too ambiguous to lead us to any clear understanding. Paul Seabury opined that 'the national interest can indicate such ideal objectives which the states pursue through their foreign policy or it can simply be the interpretation of the policy makers or its meaning may be different to different individual and groups (Seabruy,1963).

According to Lord Parmesan:

“In the International Relations, There is no any permanent friend and enemy but the preference is given only to the national interest any state form its foreign policy on the base of National Security and Interest”. Are the elements which generate and determines the foreign policy and its direction.

The main objectives and determinants of the Pakistan’s foreign policy are discussed as under: -

National Security

The main objective and determinant of foreign policy of Pakistan is its national security or independence. Pakistan was a new born state, and there was a need to make plantings for its security. So Pakistan formulated its foreign policy on the basis of national security. It gave due importance to the national security, establishing external relationships with other countries. Pakistan respects the national integrity and the political independence of other countries, and expects from others the same (Yousaf, & Tabassum, 2003). The main preoccupation of Pakistan from the very beginning has been to ensure its security from India (Mehmood, 1987). Pakistan has to spend more on defense as compared to others. Defense against India had has been a major concern of Pakistan. Since the very beginning of creation of Pakistan, India adopted hostile policies against Pakistan and started occupying the princely states one after the others. Resultantly, this trend created a fear in Pakistan that India would take advantage of her weakness. Indian aggressive designs in Kashmir, Hyderabad and Junagadh had created security threats for newly independent state. Pakistan had to look for friends to boost her defense and economy and also to enhance her diplomatic pressure. Leadership of Pakistan preferred USA for military and economic aid for security concerns of Pakistan (Salahuddin, 2005). The direction of the foreign policy of Pakistan was founded on the quest of her security and defense and USA was considered as a more favorable and favorite country for this task. US also required a friend in the region against USSR. Hence Indian factor became major determinant to establish Pak-U.S relations (Pasha, 1990).

Financial Factor

At her very birth, economically and financially, Pakistan was a weak country. Hostility of Indian National Congress to Pakistan had destroyed any basis of cooperation between India and Pakistan. Efforts were made by the Indian government to strangulate Pakistan by the disputes of cash balances, defense stores, and Kashmir and canal water. The Hindu leadership reckoned with the idea of partition in the hope that Pakistan was not economically viable and by their antagonistic policies they tried to hasten Pakistan’s collapse (Ahmad, 1989).

Pakistan needs to establish close ties with those states with whom she could obtain economic benefits (Yousaf, & Tabassum, 2003)

Ideological Factor

Pakistan is an ideological state and its foreign policy is based upon the ideology of Pakistan or Islam. The foreign policy is meant to protect the ideology. The stability of Pakistan is also dependent upon ideology. So it had has been one of the major determinants of Pakistan's foreign policy to develop close relations with Muslim countries. The establishment of brotherly relationship with Islamic countries and to raise voice for the promotion of solidarity of Islamic brotherhood in regional and international forums is the cornerstone of Pakistan's foreign policy (Kundi, 2003 October, 22). After independence, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and also Premier Liaquat Ali Khan decisively believed and supported the basis of Islamic unity (Mehmood, 1992). Pakistan had has considered Islam as significant in formulating her foreign policy but it does not mean that Pakistan would adopt policy to be distant from states of the world where the countries follow the ideology other than Islam. It is for this reason Pakistan has developed close relations with China and USA as well.

Historical and Psychological Factor

Historical and Psychological factors, had has always impacts on Pakistan's foreign policy. Pakistani nation had faced bitter experience in the history of subcontinent. The Hindus left no stone unturned to curb and crush the political, economic, social and religious rights of Muslims which paved the way towards the demand for partition of subcontinent of separate homeland for Indian Muslims. The history of Pakistan India relations is a witness to the fact that India has not reconciled to fact that Pakistan is a sovereign state (Salahuddin, 2005). Nehru belief the matter of India-Pakistan relationship was complicated to deal with for the reason that it was an emotional factor and in this result the sub-continent was divided between two states like India and Pakistan (Burke, 1973). Pakistan had has always been facing the India's aggressive design since her very birth and due to India's antagonistic attitude, Pakistan had to formulate her foreign policy for developing relations with different countries, especially with big powers.

Principles of Pakistan's Foreign Policy

Every country has to establish its foreign policy according to own ideological, historical, political and geographical circumstances with objective or goals and also the ultimate and which states want to achieve but its objectives could only be achieved with the help of some basic methods or means which are termed as principles. For policy executioners of the states, principles serve as a guide to reach the destination (Salahuddin, 2005).

Following are the guiding principles of Pakistan's foreign policy:

Unity of Islamic World

Being an ideological state, Pakistan has been adopting basic principle of her foreign policy to develop cordial and friendly relations with Muslim countries. Pakistan is the supporter of the unity of Islamic world, and is following the policy to establish good relations with Muslim countries. Pakistan has always tried to solve the conflicts of Islamic world and played very important role in Iran – Iraq war, Palestine's and Afghanistan's liberation. Pakistan is an active member of the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) (Yousaf & Tabassum, 2003).

One of the important aim of Pakistan's foreign policy had been the creation of an Islamic bloc of the Muslim cause, but Pakistan's initiatives to seek closer relations with Muslim countries and her beliefs in the Islamic concept of unity and brotherhood could not be appreciated enough in Muslim countries and which were beset by their own internal and external problems. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah stressed the need of cooperation among all the Muslim states and also appealed for unity. He stated in August 1948, that the play of 'power politics' now being theatrical in Palestine, Indonesia and Kashmir should give out as 'eye - operator' to us (Jalalzai, 2004).

Pakistan also led the Muslim countries in holding international conference on Muslim cooperation on financial and political problems upsetting the Muslims countries which resulted into settlements of amity with almost every Muslim country in the period of 1950-51 (Jalalzai,2004). Since her very independence Pakistan had has been following the principles of close friendly relations with all Muslim countries including Afghanistan, having complex history of relations as a neighbors as well as Muslim country.

Good Relations with Neighbors

No country could change her neighbors. Till 1971, Pakistan had a unique geographical location having one thousand miles distance between East and West Pakistan. East Pakistan was surrounded by India in three sides with only approach from the sea which could not be difficult for India to control. This geographical factor caused heavy defense burden for Pakistan (Mehmood, 2000). West Pakistan (now present Pakistan) is also surrounded by three big powers, Russia, former USSR at the top, the people republic of China in the North-East and India in the South and East. No other small country in the world has such dubious distinction with three mighty neighbors. No doubt, such a kind of geographical location could be considered as a source of weakness in physical term but could also be converted into a source of strength by establishing normal and mutually acceptable relations with such neighboring countries (Khan,1967).

Pakistan followed the principle that cordial and friendly relations among neighboring countries have always been worthwhile for peace and prosperity of the region. But Pakistan was not fortunate enough in her relation, especially, with two big neighbors. India had always been adopting hostile attitude towards Pakistan and also neighborly relations between the USSR and Pakistan faced many ups and downs (Iqbal, 2004). Despite of all difficult situations, Pakistan tried to adopt the policy to develop friendly relations with all neighboring countries including India and also offered to solve all the issue including Kashmir (Ahmar, 2009). Therefore, Pakistan had called India for consultations at every place, at every level and at every time. Pakistan's joining of SEATO and CENTO resulted, tensed relations with the USSR, but Pakistan had never been a party to any design against the Soviet Union and Pakistan's membership of pacts was only for the sake of her security concerns. Hence Pakistan adopted the principle to normalize her relations with China and the USSR (Khan, 1967).

Establishment of Peace

Pakistan wants establishment of peace throughout the world. Pakistan has also protested against aggressive powers desires, and supported the oppressed nations for getting the peace. Pakistan has repeatedly invited India to negotiate peace in South Asia but it has rejected every move. From her very independence Pakistan had has been adopted the fundamental principles of international law with a special reference to respect for independence, non-aggression and non- interference in international affairs as an indispensable condition for peace and prosperity it extended goodwill towards all states of the world and support for the legitimate causes of people, close brotherly ties of friendship with Muslims nations and the desire for cooperation with all the countries for the sake of peace, especially towards neighboring states.

Support to Right of Self-Determination:

Pakistan supports the right of self-determination of all the suppressed nations. Pakistan believes that every nation must have the right of self-determination. Therefore, Pakistan has supported the demand of abolishing the colonialism and every movement for the exercise of the right of self-determination in Europe, Africa and Asia. Pakistan has played very important role in the struggle of independence of Kashmir, Palestine, Bosnia, Namibia and Vietnam (Afzal, 1976)

Peaceful Co-Existence

Pakistan believes in peaceful co-existence and respects the liberty, freedom and sovereignty of other countries, and expects the same from others. Pakistan is always disinterested in the internal affairs of others, and opposes imperialism and aggression of every type. In the light of this grave principle Pakistan has been

following the policy of live and let to live since independence. It is due to this policy that Pakistan always desired normal relations with India but unfortunately enough this desire remained unfulfilled.

Cooperation with the UNO

Collaboration with the UNO is most important ingredients of Pakistan's foreign course of action and has always been following its charter whole-heartily. Hence, Pakistan had has upheld every decision of the United Nations and even never hesitated to provide military assistance under the guiding principle of the UNO. Since her membership of the United Nations, on Sep.

30, 1947, Pakistan has been demonstrating sense of duty regarding the charter of the UN, and especially, for its struggle for establishing world peace. Moreover, Pakistan has been playing an active role in different organs of the UN. She was obeying its decisions as during wars with India on Kashmir issue, Pakistan always showed her respect for the decision of ceasefire, such cooperation on the part of Pakistan in her highly trusting attitude towards the United Nations. Indeed, even today Pakistani armed force and other authority are serving under UN to various nations which help Pakistan to assemble its picture at the international level.

Independent and Neutral Policy

At her inception in 1947, Pakistan had adopted the policy of independence and neutrality and followed the principle of non-alignment as the friendship to all and malice to none. Pakistan, in her first few years of the existence tried to maintain independent and neutral policy in the own going cold war during the early years and did not show alignment with any bloc, led by the US or USSR. In the beginning, neutrally, Pakistan leadership desired to keep themselves, among from the conflicts of begs of the world as the Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan, even after three days, when Pakistan became a sovereign state, stated that Pakistan would take no side in the conflict of ideologies between the nations (Burke,). And some months later, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah as the Governor General of Pakistan affirmed, our foreign policy is one of friendliness and goodwill towards all the nations of the world (Afzal, 1976)

To sum up, Pakistan has been following the model of principles of foreign policy as respect for territorial integrity, political independence and sovereignty of other countries. Pakistan wants serene resolution of conflicts and improving her relationships with all countries of the world.

Foreign Policy Making Process

In the formulation of foreign policy, the statesmen including all other policy makers play a decisive role. As the final shape of foreign policy is the handiwork

of these elites, the impact of their views and personality is but natural. Policy makers define the situation not only in terms of conditions abroad, but also in terms of what is feasible bureaucratically. They receive information from various government agencies and the alternatives they consider are often alternatives that have been drafted and debated by lower officials of various government departments (Holsti, 1978). Foreign policy making factors are as under:

Administrative Troika

Administrative Troika comprises the President of Pakistan, the Prime Minister and Chief of Army Staff. It plays very important role in formulating foreign policy. It can approve or disapprove the foreign policy of Pakistan or can make any change in it. However, it is very difficult to deviate from the previous foreign commitments made by Troika (Dawn, 2017, August 24).

In Pakistan all two have important place in foreign policy making process. In the very early years, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan of Pakistan played an important responsibility in formulating the foreign policy of Pakistan. Their statements and decisions reflected the policy on which Pakistan developed relations with different countries. They considered the US as an important country which would help Pakistan for her economic and security concerns. Statements of the Prime Minister are regarded as the decisions of the government. They also lead the country in matters related to the foreign affairs for developing friendship with other countries of the world. He represents his country at regional and international level. Their personality and ideas have deep impacts on country's foreign policy (Salahuddin, 2005).

A Prime Minister having strong and popular personality has powers to issue the direction and guidance to other concerned like foreign ministers, ambassadors and officials of the ministry of foreign affairs. It is on the advice of P.M that the President appoints ambassadors to other countries. Authority always has a fundamental role to run the foreign policy making process. Priorities and beliefs are always important for top level executive decision-makers. Personality of decision maker influences foreign policy rather than policy maker's rationale role. Hence the rationale is that the personalities of the head of states and government and foreign ministers probably have more impact on the foreign policy behavior of their respective governments.

In the light of aforementioned theory the personality of the strategic decision making leadership of Pakistan from 1947-1972 has impacts on foreign policy making process. Quaid-i- Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Liaquat Ali Khan, Khwaja Nizamuddin, Ghulam Muhammad, Muhammad Ali Bugra, H.S. Shoharwardy, Ch-Muhammad Ali, Iskandar Mirza, Muhammad Ayub Khan and Z.A Buhtto all set the directions of foreign policy of Pakistan. For the first four

years of independence (1947-51), Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Premier Liaquat Ali Khan provided strong leadership in this regard.

From the very beginning due to the grave security threat from Indians had been the foremost concern of Pakistan since independence. So the armed forces of Pakistan had has always a major position in the formulation of foreign policy as well defense policy of the country (Ahmar,). General Muhammad Ayub Khan as the C-in-C-played an important role to develop close ties with the US, especially in defense pacts during 1950s. After becoming of C-in-C in

January 1951, the invitation had been taken up for military pacts between Pakistan and the US (Zaidi, 2014). Similarly, since 1979, on the invasion of USSR in Afghanistan and then the coup of General Pervaiz Musharff after Kargil incidents, Chief of Armed Forces of Pakistan also remained Presidents of Pakistan and they played major role in the formulation of foreign policy. General Raheel Sharif also directed this process, especially on the issue of terrorism. At present Chief of the armed forces, General Qamer Javaid Bajwa has an important position in this regard as recently he has reacted against the policy of Donald Trump, the US President towards Pakistan in the perspective of Afghanistan crisis and terrorism. He stated, Pakistan is fighting terrorism in her own interest and not for the US money and equipment. And was not looking for any material and financial assistance from the US but trust, understanding and acknowledgment of Pakistan's contribution.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs

The ministry can assume very significant part in formulating the foreign policy. It includes the experts and specialists of foreign policy and the officials of high ranking. They get ready foreign policy, keeping in see the fundamental goals and standards of the policy. They formulate the policy, plans and programmers regards to the needs of foreign policy, and completely coordinate with Troika for its preparation. As per new constitutional amendment, the Troika has been supplanted by the 'National Security Council' (Joseph, 1968). Ministry of foreign affairs is headed by the foreign minister who coordinates the foreign policy matters with Prime Minister. He issues country's foreign policy statements to the press media and defend the activities of his ministry in the parliament conducts the country's external relations. His qualities of leadership count a great deal in the success of foreign policy. In the ministry of foreign affairs of Pakistan, the leadership of Muhammad Ali Bogra, Mr. Zulifqar Ali Bhutto and Mr. Agha Shahi played an important role to conduct foreign relations of Pakistan (Salahuddin, 2005).

Intelligence Agencies

Pakistan's intelligence agencies also play very effective role in the formulation of foreign policy by providing full information about the objectives of other countries foreign policies. Keeping in view these in formations, Pakistan formulates its foreign policy (Holsti,).

Political Parties and Pressure Groups

The political parties and pressure groups have deep impacts on the formulation of foreign policy. The political parties include the priorities of foreign policy in their manifestoes, and after their success in the election, they force the government to change the priorities of foreign policy according to the changing scenario in the light of their view points. Likewise the pressure groups can also influence the foreign policy (Sampson, 1962). Political parties and pressure groups play an important role in developing public opinion by expressing the will of the people (Haq, 1955). In this way the foreign policy making process selects its direction.

Pakistan's decision to join western defense pacts was being considered in the vital interest of the nation for security concerns. But it could not get public support and was criticized not only by the leadership of left wing politicians but also by those who had moderate opinion in domestic and international politics. In July 1956, when Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal, the West considered this decision, especially against economic interest, but in Pakistan public opinion was immensely in favor of Egypt. On other side, Pakistan's official policy was with the interests of the west (Salahuddin, 2005). In this way the foreign policy making process selects its direction.

Role of Parliament

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs usually prepares the foreign policy according to the directions of executive and puts it before the parliament for approval. After discussion and debate the parliament gives approval to it or suggests some change in it (Sampson, 1962). Members of parliaments belong to treasury benches or opposition may appreciate or criticized policies of the government regarding foreign affairs. They may ask questions related to the conduct of country's foreign policy as well as the performance of the ministry of foreign affairs. Statement issued by the President, Prime Minister, or Foreign Ministers about the external affairs are included in the debate of the parliament in which the honorable members can express their feelings and also the opinion of the people (Sampson, 1962).

In the light of the importance of parliament, especially for foreign affairs, President General Muhammad Ayub Khan convened a special session of the National Assembly, when the Sino-Indian border issue had started in 1962 and

briefed the members the impacts of this war on Pakistan's security. Similarly National Assembly was taken into confidence, when Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto the then President of Pakistan left for New Delhi in 1972 to hold talks with Indian Premier, Mrs. Indira Gandhi after the debacle of East Pakistan. Simla agreement signed by Pakistan and India on July 3, 1972 was also ratified by the then National Assembly. This was the first time that any government of Pakistan had extended request to National Assembly to ratify the agreement. Besides this example joint session of the parliament has been convened for a couple of time to discuss the Kashmir issue and other security related matters of Pakistan (Sampson,).

Conclusion

Pakistan is one of the established policies of the world states to develop friendly relationship among each other in the perspective of their national interests. This study shows that even in the very early years of her independence, Pakistan had to face series of problems due to Indian's antagonistic design against the newly established state of Pakistan which compelled her for developing close relations with the US, especially, for the former's security and economic concerns. On the other hand, the US was also looking for a friend in the region to counter the spread of communism in South Asia. Hence, the mutual interests of both countries focused to develop close relationship. This research work reveals that despite the complete tilt of Pakistan's early leadership towards the US, the former could not gain much as she had expected from the relationship with the later.

Nonetheless, today in our country there is a crying need to revisit and redefine foreign policy in such a way that must improve the image of the country worldwide, and be in the interest of mass public. Dynamic changes are must in our country. Foreign policy makers need to formulate policy independent rather than at the behest of the outside powers especially U.S. the policy must be brought to parliament forum so that the transparent, free and fair foreign policy could be crafted in the larger benefits of its people. Moreover, the current global trend focuses on the nations, better economic relations then the political hegemonies and point scoring. Pakistani foreign policy makers reorient its ties with other nations accordingly, so that the nation may be fall behind in the growing re-emergence of Asia in the 21 century. The ideal foreign policy of Pakistan is only possible if political will and pragmatic approach is constructed on strong footing.

References

- Afzal, M. R. (1966). *Selected Speeches and Statements of the Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, 1911-34 and 1947-48*. Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, University of the Punjab.
- Afzal, M. R. (1976). *Selected Speeches and Statements of the Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah*. Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan.
- Ahmad, R. (1989). *Pakistan- India Relations: Prospects for a Durable Peace*. Lahore: South Asian Studies Centre.
- Ahmar, M. (2009). *Pakistan's Foreign Policy Making Process: A case study of Pakistan*. Karachi: Department of International Relations, University of Karachi.
- Amer, R. (2009). *An Introduction of Foreign Policy Definition, Nature, and Determinants*. QAU, Islamabad: Pakistan.
- Azad, A. K. (1959). *Indian Wins Freedom*. Delhi: Orient Blackswan Publications.
- Azam, C. M. (1986). *International Relation in Theory and Practice*. Karachi: Tahir Sons Publications.
- Banta, George. (1951). *United States Foreign Policy*. Washington Dc: Brooking Institution Press.
- Burke, S.M. (1973). *Pakistan's Foreign Policy: An Historical Analysis*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Gross, F. (1954). *Foreign Policy Analysis*. New York: Philosophical Library.
- Haq, M. (1955). *Theory of Political Science*. Lahore: Bookland Publications.
- Holsti, K.J. (1978). *International Politics: A Framework for Analysis*. New Delhi: Prentice Hall of India.
- Iqbal, D. M. (2004). *Pakistan Relations with Russia (1947-2003)*. Pakistan Vision: Pakistan Study Center, Lahore University of the Punjab.
- Jalalzai, M. K. (2004). *The Foreign Policy of Pakistan: Afghanistan, Kashmir, and Internal Security Threats*. Lahore: Ariana Publisher.

- Joseph, F. (1968). *International Relations*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Khan, M. A. (1967). *Friend Not Master*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Kundi, M. A. (2003, October 22). Assessing our Foreign Policy. Dawn Newspaper.
- Mahmood, D.S. (1987). *A Political Study of Pakistan*. Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications.
- Mehmood, D.S. (1992). *Pakistan-Tareekh-o-Siasat*. Lahore: Jahangir Books Publications.
- Mehmood, D.S. (2000). *Political Roots and Development in Pakistan: 1947-1999*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Modelski, G. (1962). *A Theory of Foreign Policy*. London: Pall Mall Press.
- Pasha, A. S. (1990). *Pakistan Ke Kharja Policy*. Lahore: Sung-e-Meel Publications.
- Salahuddin, D. S. A. (2005). *Foreign Policy of Pakistan: A Critical Study*. Karachi: Comprehensive Book Service.
- Sampson, A. (1962). *Anatomy of Britain*. New York: Harper and Row Publishers.
- Snyder, R.C., Bruck, H.W, & Sapin, B.M. (1962). *Decision Making as an Approach to International Politics*. New York: Free Press.
- Yousaf, S., & Tabassum, D. S. (2003). Foreign Policy of Pakistan Challenges and Opportunities. *JISR*, 2(1).
- Zaidi, A. J. (2014). *Bahir Jungle ander Aag: Pakistan ke Syasi Kashmakash ka Saffer*. Lahore: Idara Mutal-e-Tareekh.